1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
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nostrums like the use of red-ants for fever or python-flesh for pot-belly already mentioned, and cauterization is the only treatment he knows for simple injuries or foot-crack (just as he brands the flanks of ailing cattle). A Maria bitten by a rabid dog at His Excellency Sir Montagu Butler's Christmas camp at Kondagaon in 1927 refused point blank to be sent out of Bastar to Raipur for Pasteur treatment, but ultimately as a concession to the general anxiety asked to be given the body of the dog, and ate its liver.[1] To Marias illness is generally a manifestation of something malignant, either the magic of a human enemy or the ill-will of a god or spirit. At funerals, steps are taken to ascertain whether magic was the cause of death; in illness a medium is called in, or a *vede* or *gunia* with knowledge either of spells to defeat the spirits of evil or of the white magic means of blowing away illness, *jhara phukna*, epidemic or epizootic disease may be defeated either by palisading the village after sweeping it clean, and posting guards with bows and arrows to shoot the demons of illness, as was done by Hill Marias in the great influenza epidemic of 1918, or by special disease-riddance ceremonies like the annual ceremony described on page 140. Yet such is the Hindu's faith in their 'medicine' that in 1930 the late zamindar of Sukma hastened his death when in the last stages of diabetes by taking the advice of Bison-horn Maria 'doctors' or *gunia* to the effect that he had two intestines, one of which had withered like a dead plant, while the other, though withering, was still partly green and could be revived if the patient fed it with lumps of black earth.

Maria treatment of disease

B. Manufactures

In the preceding chapters frequent mention has been made of basketry, for Maria measures, grain bins, walls of houses and fences, dancing shields and so on. The Hill Marias are great basket-workers, men and women. The men make all the big basketry bins for storing grain and the large baskets sold at the markets, as well as dancing shields and fencing and matting; the women make the basketry measures, basketry plates and the smaller domestic baskets, as well as brooms of various grasses, which are generally plaited together at the top by basketry methods. In camps, Hill Maria youths almost invariably employ any spare time in basket-making. Bison-horn Marias on the contrary leave it almost entirely to their women, except that the men make the basketry caps that are the basis of the *tallagulla* bison-horn dancing headdress, and fencing.

1. Basketry

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 421. - Analyst]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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674 to molest suspects. There were cases from Muria and Bhattra
754 villages where the community inflicted degrading punishments only
683 somewhat less cruel than those of Glasfurd's day; but in all but one of the Maria cases the man who believed himself wronged acted entirely on his own, often after consulting the god through a *waddai* medium, and killed or tried to kill the suspect with any weapon that came handy. The exception was the 1916 Hill Maria murder at Orcha, in which many villagers combined against the *pargana* headman, who, like his father before him, was said to have been expert in the black art, and to have used it and his position as headman to set up a '*raj*' over the *pargana*. They combined to seize him at night, crushed his testicles and hanged him from a creeper. Nor were women ever suspected in Maria cases, although in three cases among Jagdalpur Murias and Bhattras women suspects were very roughly handled. In two Bison-horn murders it was clear that the murdered man had threatened his murderer to bewitch him, and one of these blackmailers was himself a *waddai*.
[791] In fact, the *waddai* is generally believed by the Bison-horn Marias to know black magic as well as white magic and divination, and is apt to be feared accordingly.

754 It is naturally difficult to ascertain the methods believed to be used by the black magician; those who imagined they had suffered judged the fact solely from the nature of their sufferings, the word of the *waddai* consulted as to their source, and, perhaps, the known enmity of the suspect towards them, while naturally no practitioner of black magic cared to admit it or to describe his methods. Black magic is commonly referred to as *pangan*; and popular talk confirms the methods described at page 43 of the *Gazetteer*:—

> 'Whenever an enemy's life is to be taken, a bit of his cloth or hair is offered to a god with some incantations consisting of a string of names of godlings, and the victim should then pine away, unless he in turn calls in a magician. This practice is locally called *kuda marna*. Another plan is for the magician to put up two bits of grass tied in the form of a cross to represent his client's enemy, and, after going through incantations, shoot at the little figure with a miniature bow and arrow made of grass. If the arrow hits the mark it is believed that the enemy will surely die, unless he has recourse to magic to avert the spell.'

The information on which this was based came from the mixed Hill and Bison-horn Maria country around Barsur, and the word 'magician' is a translation of '*waddai*'.

● 755 The white magic in vogue is merely the counter-magic used by a friendly *waddai* to avert or cure illness and disease. Of actual Hill Maria methods I obtained no notes; but certain *waddais* or *leṣkis* have a much greater reputation than others. I gather that Hill Maria methods do not differ from those in vogue among Bison-horn Marias and Murias, in which

White Magic

See cat. 116, pp. 423-424. — Anglist

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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755 [187] even Hindu officials educated at colleges outside the State place great trust. The cause of the illness or affliction is discovered by some form of divination (*hal hudatore*), generally by means of rice-grains, unless the case is serious enough to necessitate the actual presence of the log-god. The *waddai* always waits till he is possessed by his god (' the god comes upon him ' or ' sits on him ') to give his decision and advice. He gets rid of illness by ' *jhara phukna* ', blowing it away; as the sun is setting and again as it is rising he, to the accompaniment of long spells (*guni*), pretends to [824] charm a patient's illness by brushing it with a spray of leaves of *amaltas* (*Cassia fistula*), a tree with various magic uses, down from the head or the affected part to the toes, where he blows it away. The spells consist mainly of long lists of godlings; here are three specimens acquired from Telami Dhurwa, a *waddai* of Dhurli in Dantewara tahsil :—

(a) ' *Haranjuro, Jurjapo, Panduro-Parokhanda, Kosarabir, Bhumandra, Modarabir, Kosrapitho, Lenkjugo, Pa'inpaye, Hurremara, Ligoni, Munoputati, Munj-huro, Wireputati, Bhimaraj, Karanja-putati, Karuwaraj, Rupkhanda, Jangabela, Mudara, Yerkama, Ahalharo, Mandkola, Wermar, Yekanath, Nai-tarai, Mor-khanda, Natur-khanda, Gurrahom, Gôpanath, Gurja ! Widse him.*'

This is just a catalogue of names said to be of godlings, but almost all of them unknown even to Telami Dhurwa, and ending with the adjuration ' *Widse him* ' or ' Let it go ! ', after saying which the *waddai* lets out a puff of breath from his mouth.

(b) ' *Dhanbase, Arra-barra, Thakur Deo, Unatha'i, Chhewatin, Dhobin, Chandarin, Bhandarin ! Hat ke bandh* (close the hands), *tônd ke bandh* (close the mouth), *kan ke bandh* (close the ears) ! *Guru, bandh !* (Close, oh Guru) *Guria, Talisar ! Rukh-cho rukh-jat, ban-cho ban-jat, dengur-cho dengur jat !* (literally, " Of trees, tree-kind, of forest forest-kind, of ant-hill ant-hill-kind ! ") *Kud-men bhed-men ilis* (You came by enmity) *Pangon men ilis* (You came by witchcraft), *par bahari udun-ja* (but get out !).'

This is a Halbi formula, starting with names of godlings, telling them to close the hands, mouth and ears of the illness, and then ordering the illnesses of tree, forests and ant-hill to get out, whether they came through enmity or witchcraft.

(c) ' *Chinani, Bisrama, Boyani, Polopo, Nangapo, Idwalo, Tulimla, Kowaimapo, Irpadmo, Wano-Pariya, Koyonda-Hunga, Ar-Iriya, Podemala, Ar-hunga, Dao-manda, Hurkura, Nur-Guru, Path-guru, Path-chola, Gurujan !*'

This is a meaningless jingle of words, mostly names of godlings or demons (*rau*).

000 I have not attempted here to speak of the various magico-religious ceremonies, for their magical aspect is commented on when the ceremonies themselves are described under agriculture, religion or other subjects.

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Mother Earth. The Gaita offered eggs and chickens, first making the chickens eat the rice and then killing them. The juice in the leaf-cups was offered to the Earth Mother and the Kanyang and then everyone drank a little. After this the owner was free to tap the tree in the ordinary way.

Failure of the sago-palm may be due either to black magic and witchcraft or to the hostility of one of the Gorga Kanyang. The Kanyang, if she is not happy in a particular village, may twist the branches at the top of the tree and cause them to wither. It is generally believed that the tree gives juice for three years 'just as a girl can enjoy herself for three years protected by Lingo in the ghotul. Then she marries and the juice ceases to flow. The motiari of the palm tree is afraid of marrying too soon. If we touch the tree with a cloth yellowed by haldi it will stop giving juice till the new shoots come, for the shadow of haldi (that is, of marriage) is upon it.'

For gonorrhoea, a very rare disaster among these aboriginals, the sufferer stands below holding a leaf-cup into which a friend pours a little of the juice from the top of the tree. The patient offers a few drops to the Gorga Kanyang and then drinks it without allowing it to touch the ground.

The wood of the palm is not usually used for building in Bastar but the Hill Maria make their *turam* drums out of its hollow dried-up trunk. The Muria also make combs and drum-sticks out of the dry wood. Some of the Muria in the Abujhmar foothills make necklaces of the fibre. The leaves are often used as hair-ornaments or to decorate the village dormitories. Sometimes the flowers are pounded into flour, mixed with water and drunk as a sort of gruel. When it is evident that the tree will give no more juice, it is cut down and the pith is removed. This is pounded into a sort of flour and steamed in the usual way into cakes which are popular eaten with honey or sugar. This practice is common across the whole of the sago-palm country. I have found it among Hill Maria, Bondo, Gadaba, and Juang and it has been recorded for the Kadir and Khasi.[1]

The salphi juice is either brought back to the house and stored there until by fermentation it becomes much more intoxicating than in its fresh condition or it is drunk immediately at the foot of the tree. Little groups of people, generally men, go out to the trees, taking with them roasted crabs or frogs, little bits of chicken, various kinds of chutney, carefully wrapped in leaf-cups. The liquor is drunk from leaves, generally simply folded to make a sort of cup, and it is sometimes poured direct into the mouth. Many delightful hours are thus spent by the villagers out among the woods or on the hills.

When a tree is specially planted by seeds or cuttings it is very carefully tended. A fence of wood is built round it and it is watered regularly. Sometimes a tree is associated with the memory of a particular person. In Kanhargaon, a village in the Chota Dongar area, a Muria planted salphi and mango trees fifty years ago and they still preserve his memory. When the people go in the evening to drink the juice, they offer a few drops in the name of Tallur Muttai and Kadrengal to the sago-palm and a few drops in the name of the dead man who planted the trees to the mango, 'so that as we drink you can drink also'.

Generally speaking the tree belongs to the man in whose field or garden it is growing. Where the trees are out in the jungle, or standing in the common land of the village, disputes sometimes arise. The headman or the more influential priests generally claim these trees as their own, but there is also a

[1] Thurston, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 171.; P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis* (London, 1914), p. 32. See also Grigson, op. cit., p. 152.

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sometimes grows properly and sometimes fails, so a child may die or rust or wither for lack of rain and so die in the womb.'

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The Muria do not hide the facts of death from their children or restrain them from witnessing the gloomy rites by which they dispose of their dead. Indeed, as at marriages, chelik and motiari have their special duties at a funeral. The chelik generally carry the corpse out to the place of disposal; the motiari accompany them there and afterwards make leaf-plates and cups for the funeral feast. If a pregnant woman or a mother with a very young baby dies, only the chelik may take the body out beyond a stream and dispose of it.

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All over India it is believed that those who die unmarried turn into unsatisfied and petulant demons. They have been frustrated in obtaining the loveliest things in life and for all time they are miserable. It is curious that it is not usually virginity but the fact that the dead boy or girl has not passed through the marriage ceremony that matters. A married boy who has not consummated the marriage is said to live in some saja tree on his property to protect it. Women may go near, but not menstruous or pregnant women or their husbands. The Muria take special precautions when a chelik or motiari dies. The Gaita drives nails into the four corners of the grave and the ghotul members make a special offering to the ghost begging it not to trouble them. In some villages it is believed that the ghost of a motiari lives under a mahua tree and the cooking for the funeral feast therefore is done in its shade. In Padbera, the Muria believe that when a motiari dies she becomes a Mirchuk and lives in a pipal tree, and a chelik becomes a Matia and lives in a banyan. The usual Gondi word for the ghost of a motiari is Nelang-jural; occasionally she occupies an old ant-hill. Very young children live in a banyan and drink its milky sap. In Bakulwahi twelve years ago a motiari died and the Gaita drove nails into the four corners of the ghotul building and went round it with the chelik in procession in order to protect it against ghostly invasion. They sacrificed a pig saying, 'Are you going to stay here, or will you go away?' When the pig ate the rice which was as usual offered to it the Muria understood that the motiari was ready to go away. They carried the pig to the boundary of the village and killed it there and thus freed the ghotul from any danger from the ghost of that girl. In Palari the Muria said that when a chelik was killed by a tiger he turned into a Baghmeri-bhut. When he died of ordinary illness he became a Kuara-bhut, revealing his presence in a whirlwind. When a very young chelik died he became an Arajatta-bhut and entered into people's stomachs, giving them a lot of pain. In Palmar the ghost of the chelik or motiari attacks whichever member of the ghotul is the first to get married after the death, presumably out of jealousy. When the Siraha diagnoses what is the matter he offers the usual sacrifices and, making a little man out of straw, asks the bhut to leave its victim and possess the straw-man instead. This is then carried to the boundary of the village and thrown away. Where a chelik or motiari has died in a village during the previous year, on the eve of any wedding the Gaita goes to a small date palm and ties it round and round with string saying, 'Go away from here, don't come near the boundary of our village'. He puts a large stone on the tree and the wedding can take place in safety. After the wedding he removes the stone, unties the string and offers an egg and chicken.

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In Kabonga it was said that when a chelik or motiari died, the ghost became what they called an Uriya-bhut. But they said that there was nothing very dangerous about it. 'The Uriya-bhut plays and dances just like the chelik and motiari. In fun it throws leaves and dust into the air; it blows in people's

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Plate XLIII

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Siraha medium at Adner, scourging himself

Siraha treating the author for fever, at Metawand

[p. 208 (N)]

MURIA RELIGION

825 Garo at their great annual festival of the ingathering of the harvest called the *Wangala* or *Gurewala*. At the climax of the Gond-Pardhan ceremony of the
171 Laru Kaj in Mandla the 'horses of the god' perform an ecstatic dance.[1]

This custom of making horses to dance with may be compared to that of the Buryat shamans of Baikal (Siberia) who use horse-staves made of wood or iron, the upper part being bent with a horse-head carved on it, while the middle part of the stick forms the knee-joints of the horse, and the lower end is fashioned into a hoof. Bells are tied to the horse-staves and 'to make it look more realistic' miniature stirrups are added. They represent the horses on which the shaman rides to the Upper and Lower Worlds. In its power of inducing trance the horse-stave appears to be connected with the drum which is often covered with horse-hide.[2]

825 I have noticed very similar customs among the Muria. Lingo Pen has two
532 horses always kept in his shrine at Semurgaon. These are decorated roots of
781 trees which have been chosen because their shape resembles that of a horse's
791 head. At the festivals of the god, these 'horses' are carried about by the mediums and are used both for divination and to stimulate trance. Decorated staves representing horses are carried by many of the chelik when they attend the clan festivals in the Abujhmar foot-hills. In one village, Kanher, members of the Gandu sept have a special relation with the wooden horse of Bara Pen. At Metawand I watched for several hours the antics of a medium who was carrying on his shoulders the wooden horse of his clan-god and at Bandopal a medium carrying an imaginary horse on his shoulder 'ambled, caracoled, pranced and plunged' for two miles before my slow-moving car as we made our way into the jungle for the Marka Pandum. 'The god rides upon him', they told me, 'and he cannot stop dancing for days at a time.' At a wedding in Malakot, I saw a medium riding on a characteristic hobby-horse; and again in the Dhurwa country to the south, I saw a man dancing astride a similar wooden hobby-horse. In both cases the rider would fall into trance if anything went wrong with the proceedings and would be able to diagnose the supernatural cause of the trouble.

This association of the horse with trance may be due to the dignity and beauty of the animal or to its swiftness, or possibly because it is regarded as a fertility offerings symbol.

'Three experiences', says Campbell, 'combine to make the horse a leading guard against the Evil Eye. To horse-owning peoples, his willing strength, intelligence, spirit and devotion make the horse the guardian of the higher or self-sacrificing type. Among tribes to whom the horse is strange, his size, power and fury make him a friend requiring and rewarding the process of squaring. To all who have dealings with the horse, his nervousness, his delicacy, his liability to strange sweatings and other sudden sicknesses shew that the horse is a favourite home for spirit-influence.'[3]

IX. The Cure of Disease

755 Where the trouble is sickness, there seems to be what would be regarded elsewhere as a definite element of 'suggestion' in the Siraha's treatment. In December 1940, I was lying very ill in my camp at Metawand. The Pargana

[1] Cf. Shamrao Hivale, 'The Laru Kaj', *Man in India*, Vol. XXIV (1944), p. 122.
[2] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia* (Oxford, 1914), p. 224, quoting Agapitoff and Khangaloff.
[3] J. M. Campbell, 'Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom', *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXX (1901), p. 100.

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● 755 Manjhi told me that he knew of an expert Siraha in the neighbourhood, and I determined to try his treatment. I must say that I found it very

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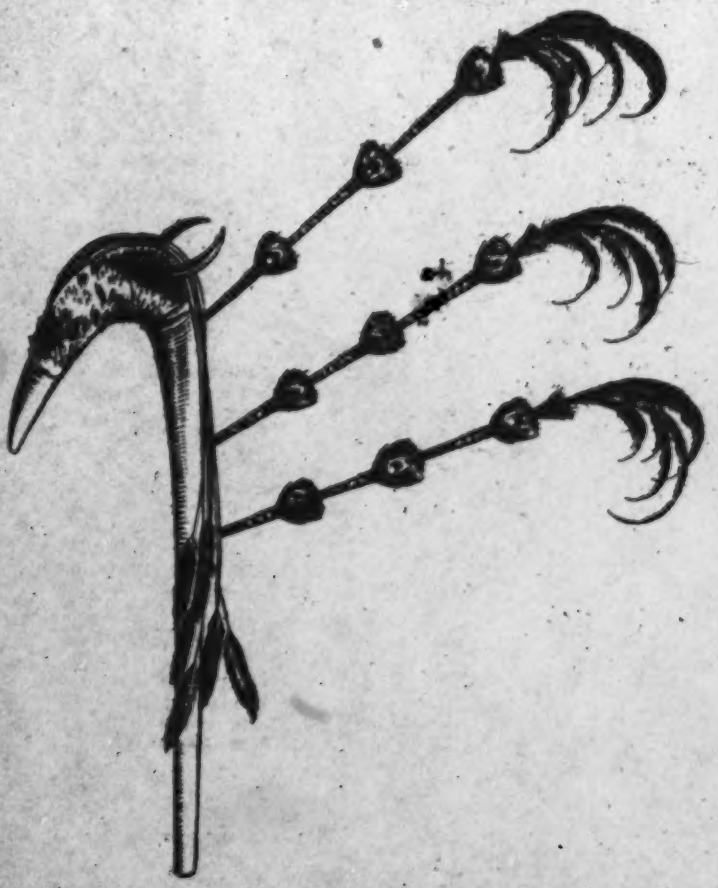

Fig. 99. A wooden "horse", with horns made of the tusks of the wild boar and decorated with feathers of the peacock and the crested tailed drongo
Length of wooden section 3' 3"

soothing and comforting. The Siraha paid three visits to my tent. He began with diagnosis, by inducing a state of trance while his assistant, the Manjhi

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755 himself, offered incense on a dish of red-hot coals. When the god came on him, the Siraha fell forward with his hands on the fire, then stood up and came directly to my bed and laid his hands on my head. He bent over me

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FIG. 30. Wooden horse, attendant on Hunga and Hirme, gods of the Tati clan, at the Bison-horn Maria village of Tikanpal
Length 3'

and blew rice—with which he had filled his mouth—all over my face three times and made passes over my body from head to feet. He clapped his hands and standing upright poured rice on my head.

At the second visit he repeated the process, except that this time he blew twice in my ears. The third time, he again went through the same routine, but brought a garland of flowers which he placed round his neck in the name of the Village Mother. He had previously discovered that the cause of my illness was the Rau of Markabera, where I had just been in camp, so he now brought an egg, a small grass image of myself, and a grass bow-and-arrow on a saja leaf. He waved these over me, and outside the tent offered them to the Rau, picked them up and carried them hastily away into the jungle. As he went he picked a bit of chir grass, broke it and threw it away behind him.

When I recovered, as I did after a few days, I was told that I had been treated in the strictly conventional manner and that no variations had been made for me because I was a stranger. The main points of the treatment are obvious enough—the blowing away of the evil spirit, the lucky rice on the head, the passes down the body to take the illness out into the toes and beyond, the offering of symbols of the patient and carrying them away. Everything was aimed at taking something away from the sick man. At the same time the cause of the disease, in this case a Hill Spirit, had to be amused with the toys and placated by a ceremonial egg.

755 Other methods of diagnosing disease are those common among the aboriginals and even the village Hindus of the Central Provinces—and no doubt elsewhere.
787 I have fully described methods of divination by the measuring-stick and the winnowing-fan in *The Baiga*; the Muria have the same technique.

Divination by rice, by water, and by chickens is, in essence, similar to European table-turning. The Gunia makes a pile of rice in the name of a god. He asks a question and removes a few grains. These he counts—an odd number means yes, an even number no. For each question he has to repeat the process seven times. Another method of augury is to place a small pot of water by the sick man's side. The Gunia makes several piles of rice, one for the sick man, one for witchcraft, one for the gods and so on. He drops a grain from the patient's pile into the water, and then one from the witch's pile. If the witch's grain 'catches' the man's, he declares his disease due to witchcraft. If not, he removes it and tries with a grain from the god's pile. And so on.

THE MURIA AND THEIR GHOTUL

755 To divine by chickens, the Gunia brings a chicken to the piles of rice and
781 tries to make it eat, asking it questions all the time. The point where the chicken eats is, of course, the answer to the question.

In matters of great moment and urgency, the Anga Deo from Bara Dongar may be sent for, but this is expensive and wastes a lot of time.

755 When a diagnosis has been made, steps must be taken to avert the evil. There are many different methods. The most common is the sacrifice of animals, rice, spices and smaller offerings. The village may be protected with bits of iron slag hammered into the doors of houses or round the borders. A scapegoat may be consecrated and driven away into the jungle. If a witch or warlock is discovered, he may be persuaded to undo the damage done. If the cause of disaster is some buried image or bone, it is essential that it should be found and properly destroyed. Often what is called in Hindi a *thua* is performed.

A *thua* is a ceremonial act based on the principles of contagious magic. It aims at concentrating the disease or danger in some material object which it then removes beyond the sphere within which a person can be affected: it takes the evil, for example, outside the village boundary, beyond the patient's *bhum*. Thus the Gunia may get a flea or a pubic hair from the patient, concentrate the disease in it and carry it away. Or to cure fever the Gunia takes one leaf-cup of cold and one of hot water and seven different kinds of flowers. He waves these seven times in front of the patient and throws them away.

A form of treatment recorded in Masora sounds like a combination of suggestion and prayer. To cure a headache on one side of the head, the patient should find a tree with cross-branches, go there on a Sunday, offer rice and pulse to the tree and bang his head seven times against it saying, 'O Mahapurub, be my friend today and drive away my pain'.

757 Medicines may be used, either alone or in association with magical means.
755 Some of the medicines are probably magical in origin, gaining their power from some fancied resemblance to the thing to be cured, such as the prescription of the white milky sap of certain plants to promote lactation. I have
278 recorded the following prescriptions:

For epilepsy. Take the feathers, and in some cases the flesh and bones, of a sparrow and offer them to whatever Rau or ghost is believed to be causing the trouble. At the time of an actual seizure, water in which the feathers have been dipped should be given to the sufferer.

For round-worms. The horn of a bison is scraped with a knife and the scrapings put in water which is allowed to stand for a time. When the water is drunk it is believed that the worms are either vomited or thrown out in the stool.

[833] *For impotence.* The genitalia of a bear are universally believed to be a cure for impotence, and Hindu subordinates and others try to obtain these from the Muria, who do not generally require them themselves. Another cure is to drink the powdered roots of the *toj-vāl* and *bioj-vāl* plants in milk and abstain from intercourse for a week.

[753] *For dropsy.* This is usually regarded as a sign of the divine displeasure and is a punishment for adultery. It can be cured by the appropriate ceremonies described elsewhere. But the liver of a bear is also useful, if it is found that the disease is due to natural causes.

For venereal disease. This is almost unknown among the Muria. They sometimes confuse gonorrhoea with the burning urine caused by the heat of

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summer or the work of burning *dahi*, saying, 'O the summer has brought this burning for me'. They eat onions as a cure.

For pain in the stomach. The root of the arandi shrub, or the small green shoots of the bahera tree.

For wounds. The bark of the mendla tree.

For rheumatism. There are several different remedies:

(1) Put some leaves of the kumi tree on the affected place and blow the pain away.

(2) Powder the roots of the karanji and sarpho plants. Mix with oil and rub it in.

(3) Touch the painful swelling with a bit of 'seed-iron' (*bij-loha*), or a thunderbolt.

For fever. The classic treatment is with red ants, which are sprinkled over the patient's body—the stings act as a counter-irritant. Sometimes, however, the ants are put in a pot of water, the lid is closed and the water is boiled for an hour. Then it is strained out and salt, chilli and garlic are mixed in it and it is given to the patient to drink. The residue of red ants is cleaned, ground up with salt and chilli and made into a chutney and given to the patient with his first food.

Another common febrifuge is to pound the leaves of the chill tree, and make a drink by mixing them with salt and chilli in water.

Red ants are also given as a cure for biliousness. A chutney of red ants, haldi and chilli is said to act very quickly on the stomach.

For headache.

(1) Pull each of your toes in turn. When you have found the toe that is connected with whatever part of the head is aching, tie it up and the pain will cease.

(2) Grind up the roots of makar and tikur with fresh haldi. Make a hot poultice of this and apply it to the head.

For diarrhoea. Take seven grains of rice and seven grains of urad pulse and the dry leaf of any old bamboo in the house. Grind them up together, boil in water, strain and take on an empty stomach.

For itch. Make an ointment of the white underskin of a snake and karanji oil.

For sores.

(1) Collect some harra fruit (myrabolams), dry and grind them to powder. Make a paste with a little oil, and apply to the sores.

(2) Remove the dirt from the patient's own ears, mix it in a paste of rice-flour and apply to the sores.

For the bite of a mad dog. Get a bit of the flesh of a mad dog which has died, dry it carefully and store it. When needed, it may be given mixed with gur not less than two years old.

Several different kinds of medicinal oil are made by the Muria. For cracked feet, and wounds in the ears of a bullock, they extract oil from the *dhaman* snake or the cobra. The fat is removed and melted in a pot and kept carefully in a small gourd. For rheumatism, oil made from the fatty parts of the tiger, the leopard or the bear is said to be effective.

X. Muria Festivals

Muria festivals are of several different kinds. The great Marhai are commercial festivals; in the larger Hinduised villages the old Pen Karsita or 'Sport of the Gods' has been turned into a large bazaar, at which the religious element

3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
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Bison Horn Maria

754 that his wife did not bear him a child, he went to the Waddai who discovered the real reason, performed the proper rites and soon a large family came into being.

754 Witches can injure women by prolonging their menstrual 755 841 periods. The Siraha can counter this by offering sacrifices to the Dead and to the Mirchuk. In Kameli a woman who was suffering from mennhorragia was cured by this means. [762] But sometimes the Siraha can do nothing, and in despair the unhappy woman may hang herself.

754 At Borgum I was told that only widows can perform black magic and that they usually call on the ghosts of the dead to help them in their wicked deeds. Here they gave me an interesting account of how a witch can take precautions against discovery. She takes her familiar, say the ghost of a murderer or suicide, with her to an ant-hill and there she 'binds its mouth' by removing some of the earth from the hill and uttering charms. She says to the ghost, 'When the Siraha questions you, do not disclose my name'. Then she replaces the earth. It is believed that, just as any earth that is removed from an ant-hill is automatically filled up the next day, so misfortune will enter the house of the ghost she has bound if it betrays her.

[751] 754 683

Charm against disease, made of small bits of chicken-bone.

Dread of this witchcraft or enchantment is a very powerful factor driving men to violence, for the fear is still a live one and the dangers are supposed to be great. Guma Hunga left his home and village because he believed that his family was being bewitched by a man called Burgi. A year afterwards he saw his enemy in the new village to which he had moved, and murdered him in a sudden access